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CURRENT COMMENT

By FREDERIC HEATH.

Philadelphia comrades have launched a weekly paper, and we wish it success.

Prof. Gregory of the University of Leipzig, visiting this country, says that Socialism will sweep the world. What did I tell you?

Evans move fast these days. It is only recently that Socialism has taken the center of the argumentative stage. It cannot be evaded any longer.

Milwaukee officially will be a very "happy family" this coming two years. Very happy! The rubbish that has triumphed at the polls is typical Republican and Democratic rubbish.

An exchange heads an article, "The Public's Right to Coal," referring, of course, to coal strikes. It is the people's right to the coal that is the real question. A day some day they seem to have it, free from capitalism's charges.

Andy Carnegie gave over two millions of his hard earned dollars to literature in 1911. If the capitalist business of living by one's wits works all right this year, Andy expects to earn a few more extra millions that he can afford to give away.

Socialism is a bread and butter question. It is the great question for the multitude. The few, who have rights to oppose it, big though they may seem by reason of their wealth, are not really worth considering. The interests of the teeming majority come first.

Berkley, Cal., Socialists claim they have discovered evidences of the presence of spies in their midst, the same as militant capitalism puts spies in the labor organizations. It is claimed that a recall movement aimed at the Socialist officials has been abetted by secret agencies.

The proposition for the recall of judges is one of those questions that will have to be settled right before it really is settled. Capitalism's judges are disgracing our courts and making a mockery of justice. And they will continue to do as long as they are beyond the reach of the people.

When the first obscure and despised workman began talking Socialism, it was not even given the dignity of a crazy idea. But time rushes on. Now there is no man so big but does not know something about it. It is beginning to match strength with the other big idea—capitalism. No doubt can exist as to the final outcome.

Practically every city of any size at all has its politics run by the interests, which is only the polite word for predatory capitalism. And every city is obliged to take its stand on the one side or the other. Wherever you turn it is the same scene, and it only prevails politically by the grace of voters of well meaning men who can still be led about by the nose.

The city of San Diego, Cal., planted 40,000 eucalyptus seedlings on a tract of 7,000 acres, and the reports are now that the proceeds bid fair to make taxes unnecessary. American cities, if rightly ordered, could all be practically self-sustaining. But capitalism, watching its graft, has put the ban on city trading, and keeps the cities where it can exploit them at will by keeping their government corrupt.

The courts are attacked because they deserve to be. They are controlled

by capitalism, and in many cases the puppets of capitalism wear the ermine of the judges. The old superstition is breaking down that made it appear that an old party lawyer politician, foxy and civilly disreputable, was straightway made a paragon of even-handed justice and unbiased mind by the mere fact of an election to the bench. And such a superstition ought to break down.

Socialist winnings continue all over the country. Quincy, Ill., elects a Socialist alderman; Ft. Scott, Kan., goes Socialist; Hartford, Ark., elects a Socialist mayor; Jamestown, N. Y., elects a Socialist alderman; Eau Claire, Wis., elects a Socialist mayor; Kalamazoo, Mich., elects two Socialist aldermen; and so on. Already they tell us the Republican national convention will deal particularly with Socialism. It is getting warm for 'em. You can almost smell the scorched leather, already! How short a time it has been since we could not even get so much as a squint from capitalism—we were so insignificant!

A bill is now before congress, which confers on the state militia of this country the rights of invasion. If it is passed, and it probably will be, the militia, or citizen soldiery, so-called, will no longer be a defensive body for the protection of the country from invaders, but itself a force that can be sent out by the rulers for the furtherance of their schemes of conquest and interference with neighboring nations. As against this proposal stands that of the Socialists that this country adopt the Swiss system, by which each man will be armed and the people given adequate drill in defensive warfare, so that the country may develop in assured peace.

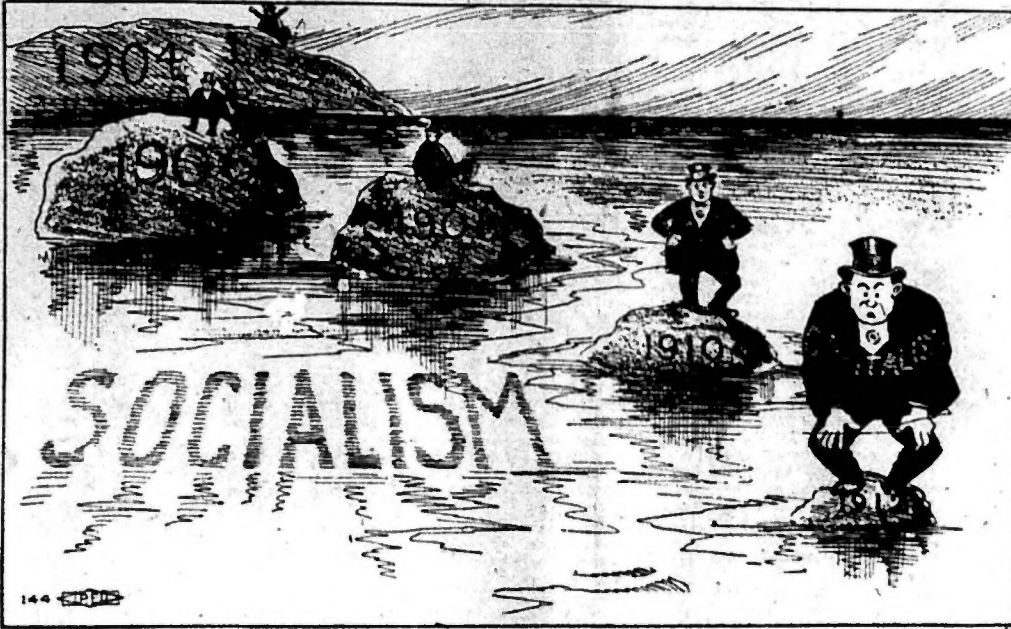
The Survey of March 30, contains a review of "The Socialists in Milwaukee," written by Graham Rogers Taylor, after a visit to the city just prior to election. While the article does not take sides, it gives many facts favorable to the Social-Democrats and tending to show the wonderful things that were accomplished in two short years in the face of a very heavy opposition. Some of his statements, on the other hand, made from information secured from various sources, would be challenged by the Socialists. Among others the fact that Dr. Badling was an efficient health officer. In truth he was a poor one, misusing the office to protect dangerous conditions in the factories, and doing much less in other directions than the people knew, owing to the employment of an efficient publicity service.

I urge every reader to carefully weigh the facts set forth in Robert Hunter's article on trade unionism in this issue. New Socialists are apt to be carried away by impulse instead of safe, cold reasoning on the trade union question, but Comrade Hunter gives the consensus of opinion of the leading minds of scientific Socialism and it can be relied on. It is not the mission of the Socialists to build up dual organizations of labor to those in existence and that have grown up by years of hard work. It is not our work, surely to divide organized labor. It is our duty to make the workingman see the truths of Socialism. While all the Socialists I have ever met are in favor of the industrial form of organization for trade unions, it is the trade unions themselves that must decide the matter, and the matter will be decided a good deal quicker if we convert the regular trade unionists than if we make the word Socialism hated by them because of our hostile tactics. The so-called DeLeonist tactics in the past made the progress of Socialism slow where it should have been much more rapid.

The story of the Milwaukee election can be told in very few words. Emil Seidel was elected two years ago by a vote of 27,000 over the Democratic candidate's 20,513 and the Republican candidate's 11,202. This year Seidel polled 30,200, but was beaten by the combined strength of the Democrats and Republicans united in a "non-partisan" fusion.

The enemy is jubilant that it has got the city back, but the steady, unrelenting rise of the Social-Democratic tide robs their victory of part of its sweetness. In a campaign of most furious and malevolent opposition, they could not check our rising vote. Therefore,

Milwaukee Capitalism Losing Ground!



The Social-Democratic Flood Keeps Rising, and Big Biz Has Made Its Last Stand.

Victory in Defeat!

Milwaukee Social-Democrats Make Big Gain in Vote But Fail to Overcome the Fusion Strength

Big Capitalism Again in Control But Worried Over Big Red Vote--Factors in the Election

The Result

For Mayor:
Emil Seidel, Socialist, 30,208.
C. A. Badling, "Non-partisan," 43,064.

Socialist Aldermen elected:
John Doerflinger, Seventh ward;
William Koch, Tenth ward; Ole A. Olson, Eleventh ward; Leo Kryszewski, Fourteenth ward; August Strehlow, Twentieth ward; William Bauman, Twenty-first ward; Arthur Urbanek, Twenty-fifth ward.

Hold-over Socialist Aldermen:
William Alldridge, William Coleman, Benn Churchill and Albert J. Walsh.

Hold-over Socialist City Officials:
City attorney, health commissioner, tax commissioner, water registrar, city engineer, building inspector, board of examining engineers, two police and fire commissioners, two civil service commissioners.

Socialist Supervisors elected:
George Menaing, Seventh district; Frederic Heath, Tenth district.

Hold-over Socialist County Officials:
District attorney, registrar of deeds, county clerk, county treasurer, clerk of courts, coroner, five county trustees, two county agricultural school members.

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they look to the future with natural apprehension. Even the more obscure old party politicians can see nothing ahead but the recapture of the city at the first opportunity by the Socialists, and that is what will happen.

The total vote of the city jumped from 59,407 of two years ago to 74,320. It was from this increased vote that the enemy got its majority. Had the total vote remained the same Seidel would have been re-elected.

The situation has its compensations. For one thing our vote is now more solid than ever. It can be safely called impregnable. We had against us every possible agency that could be used to induce us. Nine daily capitalist newspapers, day after day for two long years poisoned their readers against us with every lie possible of invention, with the most unblushing distortions and misrepresentations of our work and with silence regarding our accomplishments. On top of this we were the victims of an adroitly laid trick regarding taxation, which deserves the space necessary to make it clear to the reader.

The state law requires full value assessments of property for taxation purposes. It had never been lived up to, but property was supposed to be assessed on a 60 per cent basis. There was a hold-over tax commissioner. He had proposed that a change be made to full value assessments. It was the law, and the Social-Democratic council could not vote the proposal down. The tax commissioner and his trustees, then put up the assessments to full value in the working class districts and failed to do so in favored silk stocking localities, so that, whilst the tax rate this year was four cents less in per thousand dollars' worth of property, the burden of taxation was unequally laid, and little homes got grievous increases while palaces, mansions and manufacturing plants escaped. But the Socialists being in power, the dishonest capitalist press was able to make many believe, in spite of our efforts to disabuse them, that high taxes and Socialist administration here bore the relation one to the other of effect and cause. It lost us many former voters. These will come back, being only tricked away from us.

Another satisfaction in the present situation is that the Roman Catholic Church vote will no longer be a menace to us. We know now what it amounts to. It is no longer a spectre in our path. This church did its very utmost against us. It refused absolutely to its members if they voted for us, its priests preached sermons ordering their flock to vote against us, and the priests also made house to house canvasses of the faithful. They could not shake our Catholic comrades and sympathizers, and their effect on their members will never be so strong against us, again, as last year. When many of their people are working people. The successful city ticket was made up of a Lutheran, turn-out and two Catholics, and every effort was made to quietly pull religion into the election.

On the other hand the Milwaukee Social-Democrats never had such intense enthusiasm as in this campaign, never such big meetings and overflow meetings, never such factory room-meetings, never such aggressive campaigning by ranks and file and by sympathizers. We have given an account of the great Auditorium meeting that closed our campaign, filling the Auditorium (flashlight will appear next week), then the five smaller halls in the great building, then the refreshment rooms in the basement, then a street overflow meeting, and then the Frigie Gemeinde hall a block away—a thing never before accomplished in Milwaukee.

Our party never stood better in Milwaukee than today. The enemy was never so frightened as it is right now!

GROWTH IN MILWAUKEE.

(From Milwaukee Sentinel, ultra-capitalistic.)

The following shows how the Socialists' vote has grown in the city and how on Tuesday the "comrades" met their defeat in spite of the heavy vote polled for them. Their vote on Tuesday was 2,578 more than that cast two years ago when they went into power.

1908	2,444
1910	2,472
1912	8,376
1904	15,333

Socialism and Private Property

SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS

(The following is from a pamphlet issued to the students of Harvard University by the Socialist students of that institution of learning.)

A few years ago a peer in the north of England was excitedly preparing to go up to London to sit in parliament for the first time in 13 years. A neighboring squire asked him why.

"To vote against the Deceased Wife's Sister act," he replied, with righteous frenzy. "It will be an outrage if the law requires a man to marry his deceased wife's sister."

It is much in this way that many people are girding their loins to protect the sacred institution of property against the threatening power of Socialism. To them Socialism will mean the government ownership and registration of neckties and toothbrushes, of overcoats and alarm clocks. And it seems to them passing strange that such a movement should have control of some 37 municipalities in this country, with a total strength, conservatively estimated, of 1,000,000 votes; that is has a popular strength in Germany of 4,400,000, more than 100 per cent greater than that of the next party, and falls of a majority in the rickshaws only because of the gerrymandering of the election districts; that it has deputies in every civilized country in Europe; and finally that it has invaded the universities and taken hold of men and women, professors and students, who are otherwise presumably intelligent.

Even a thinker like President-Emeritus Eliot, of Harvard, has felt that Socialism intends the abolition of

private property, and hence the abolition of the chief individual incentive that makes the world go around. Like all other intelligent critics of Socialism he admits that such an intention is not explicit in Socialist programs or philosophy, but he feels that the historic genesis and the philosophical tendency of the movement imply this result.

Some Standard Opinions.

The following quotations are taken from independent authorities and from recognized opponents of Socialism:

Encyclopaedia Britannica—"The Socialists of the twentieth century rarely, if ever, demand that all wealth be held in common, but only that the land, and the large workshops, and the materials and means of production on a large scale shall be owned by the state, or its delegate, the municipality."

Standard Dictionary—"Socialism: A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and public collective management of all industries."

Dr. A. Schafflin (formerly minister of finance of Austria)—"In opposition to all contrary views, which have been very widely spread, it must be emphatically stated that Socialism does not universally exclude either property in general or private property in particular."

larger proportion of income. It thus becomes at once apparent that modern Socialism does not propose to abolish private property. Socialism proposes to extend the institution of private property in such manner as to secure to each individual in society property in an annual income, which shall be so far as practicable, sufficient to satisfy all rational wants, and to protect all from those attacks upon personal freedom which proceed from the dependence of man upon man."

J. S. Mill—"Socialism by no means excludes private ownership of the articles of consumption."

These views are modestly corroborated by Socialists of widely varying views:

Graham Wallis (Oxford, M. A., lecturer on government at Harvard University, 1910-11). "Property Under Socialism."—"Socialists work for the owning of the means of production by the community and the means of consumption by the individuals."

Friedrich Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific."—"The solution can consist only in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore, by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole."

Karl Kautsky, "Erfurt Program."—"Only the by conversion of private ownership in the means of production—the land, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, and the means of transportation and communication—into social ownership . . . can production on a large scale . . . be changed from a source

1906	16,837
1908	20,887
1910	27,662
1912	30,200

The following table shows the anti-socialist vote at the city elections since 1902:

1902	49,887
1904	44,836
1906	44,219
1908	42,069
1910	31,775
1912	44,126

In the primary election two weeks ago a total of 59,052 votes were cast, of which the socialists had 17,745 and the nonpartisans 40,897.

Vote of Other Years.

The following is the vote for mayor during the last 12 years, it being the first time in more than a decade that a mayor was elected by a majority:

1900	
Rose, Dem.	25,196
Faunsgartner, Rep.	22,772
Heath, Soc.	2,472

1902	
Rose, Dem.	28,980
Anson, Rep.	20,907
Tuttle, Soc.	8,453

Total vote cast . . . 58,340

1904	
Rose, Dem.	23,515
Goff, Rep.	17,603
Berger, Soc.	15,333
Wilke, Soc. Lab.	8,650
Clas, Ind.	68

Total vote cast . . . 60,169

1906	
Rose, Dem.	21,198
Becker, Rep.	22,905
Arnold, Soc.	16,837
Vierheller, Soc. Lab.	116

Total vote cast . . . 61,056

1908	
Rose, Dem.	23,114
Pringle, Rep.	18,169
Schell, Soc.	20,867
Gardner, Pro.	766

Total vote cast . . . 62,936

1910	
Schoenecker, Dem.	20,513
Reffel, Rep.	11,202
Seidel, Soc.	27,662

Total vote cast . . . 59,407

1912	
Bading, Nonp.	43,064
Seidel, Soc.	30,200
Mishoff, Prob.	1,062

Total vote cast . . . 74,326

The Socialist View

"We have just begun to fight."

The historic words of John Paul Jones express the sentiments of the Socialist city officials regarding the result in the municipal election.

They are not beaten; they have just begun to fight.

"Such a defeat is a victory," said Mayor Seidel. "We got 30,000 votes fairly and squarely on the issue of Socialism, a big increase, and by the combination against us finally disposed of the Republican party in the city. The next thing to do is to wipe out Big Business."

"What am I going to do? Oh, I haven't decided that matter yet; but never fear, I'll find something to do, and keep busy."

Full of Energy.

City Clerk Thompson grinned his characteristic grin when a Herald reporter stepped into his office Wednesday morning, and inquired how he proposed making a living now that the "non-partisans" allow that they have "wiped the Socialists off the map." Bouncing in his chair with vigor and energy plus, he said:

"I want to say most emphatically

(Continued on 4th page.)

Milwaukee Proved to Be More Socialist Than Ever Before

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

Comrades of Milwaukee, as one of the founders of our grand organization, as your spokesman for many years and your representative in congress, I want to congratulate you for the splendid showing you made in yesterday's election.

"You have withstood the united assault of the forces of capitalism, graft and darkness—of prejudices, ignorance and greed—as no other organization in this country ever could."

"You have withstood an avalanche of lies, misrepresentation and vilification. You have withstood a crooked tax campaign planned over a year ago and calculated especially to arouse the ire of the small taxpayers by putting the burden upon him; and by shifting the responsibility for this crime from the old party politicians to the Social-Democratic administration."

"You have redeemed Milwaukee. Today you stand before the country, with a grand army of class conscious Socialists of over 30,000 in this city."

"This showing is so much more remarkable because the daily press of Milwaukee—nine daily papers, fought us as they never fought us before—being jealous and justly afraid of our banner bearer, The Leader."

"This showing is so much more remarkable because the fusion of all the forces of graft and capitalism was arranged and led by men who pretended to stand for 'reform.'"

It is so much more remarkable because all through the campaign the capitalist slogan was—We must redeem Milwaukee from the Socialists, because coming from a Socialist city drummers cannot sell goods.

"They made the issue—Americanism and the flag—meaning their graft and their profit—versus Socialism. And they got the answer that there are over 30,000 men in Milwaukee standing for Socialism."

"The result of the election is therefore that Milwaukee has proven to be more of a Socialist city now than ever before."

"The labor movement of America may well be proud of its Milwaukee battalions. There is no force that can possibly prevent the return of the Socialists to the city hall two years hence if they choose to return."

"This city will soon have a Socialist majority as a matter of natural growth, of natural progress, of increased enlightenment."

"Comrades of Milwaukee, you are doing noble and historic work. The Socialist movement of America, the international movement for the emancipation of the working class salutes you today."

WASHINGTON News Notes

WANT U. S. TO ARM CHILDREN

WASHINGTON.—The killing of a 9-year-old child by a Boy Scout in the city of New York adds interest to the introduction in congress of a bill "to promote a patriotic spirit among the citizens and youth of the United States and for the encouragement of rifle practice. Representative Tilson of Connecticut is the author of the bill. The house committee on military affairs is now considering the measure."

Under the provision of Tilson's bill any organization of Boy Scouts could, by complying with the rules of the national board for promotion of rifle practice, procure army rifles free of charge from the United States government.

The bill also provides for an annual appropriation of \$100,000 for the promotion of rifle practice in public schools, colleges, universities, and civilian rifle clubs, including the cost of ammunition, prizes and the necessary appliances therefor, and for the expense of indoor and outdoor competitions among the students and members attending or belonging to the same, including the necessary traveling expenses and per diem of the persons designated by the secretary of war to superintend such instruction and competitions.

Last year a California congressman introduced a bill authorizing the secretary of war to detail army officers to train the Boy Scouts in the arts of war. Yet the leaders of the Boy Scout movement persist in denying the fact that it is a military movement for the promotion of wholesale murder.

New Campaign Publicity Law.

The congressional committees of the old parties are sending out notices to all their candidates for congress calling their attention to the provisions of the campaign publicity law, approved August 19, 1911. This law provides for the filing of reports of campaign expenses for the primary and general elections.

The law requires that these reports be filed with the clerk of the house of representatives not more than 15 days and not less than 10 days preceding any primary or general election.

Socialist organizations should take notice of this law and comply with its provisions. Copies of this law may be procured by addressing the clerk of the house of representatives, Washington, D. C.

Compensation Bill is Opposed.

Charging that the officials of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engine-men in the state of Georgia are appropriating the money of the state for their own use, Senator Sutherland introduced a bill on the pending Workmen's compensation bill, and urging delay till the men can submit the matter to a referendum vote. If O. T. East appears before the joint meeting of the senate and house judiciary committee.

Senator Sutherland suggested that Shyster lawyers were back of the protests of the Georgia railroad men, but Representative Howard, of the state, testified in reply to this charge that most of the cases under the present employers' liability law were settled outside of the courts and without the services of lawyers.

Senator Sutherland may be right in his charge but the fact remains that the railroad interests and the civic federation are back of the compensation measure he has introduced. Sutherland himself is one of the most reactionary men of the senate. It is evident that the expensive federal commission which drew up the bill is very much worried at the unexpected opposition from the South.

MILWAUKEE

1908
20,887
1910
27,662
1912
30,200



Socialism and Private Property--An Address to Harvard Students.

(Continued from 1st page.)

of misery and oppression for the exploited classes into one of well being and harmonious development."

Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels, 1848. "Capital is not personal. It is social power. When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property."

National Platform of American Socialist Party, 1908, demands: "The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamboat lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication; and the collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist." It also demands "the collective possession, control, or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation." These are its only property demands.

These Socialist demands differ in many important points, for Socialism is not an authoritative chart of theories, but the mass of thought and achievements of Socialists. In other words, it is a living movement. The only institutions without internal differences and bickerings are dead institutions.

But the point which must be eloquent in all these quotations is that they agree on one fact--that Socialism contemplates the public ownership only of the means of production. It recognizes that certain property is private and is not of the sort to be owned by a collection of persons in undivided shares.

It is evident that Socialism contemplates socializing one kind of property and not another. What are these esoteric differences in property, and where is the dividing line?

What is Property?

But first, what is property? Property is obviously not the physical possession of a thing; many of us possess articles which do not belong to us. It is certainly the right to use a thing; but it is not an unlimited or inalienable right. One cannot own a tannery, for instance, which is a menace to the health of the community. Nor can one own a mere harmless piece of land if the community needs more than he.

The right of the community to condemn property is universally admitted. The history and practice of English common law shows that land is never strictly owned; it is only held in tenure through the acquiescence of the state. Buildings, similarly, may be made subject to any restrictions essential to social welfare. Property is evidently the limited right to use a thing. Yet it is not the limited right to use anything. You cannot use your wife as a car-horse, for instance, without being a nuisance. You cannot use the water in your club as a feudal adjunct of your farm, except he will be willing. And also, you cannot use the public highway to grow potatoes in. Nor are these limitations permanently defined. The Massachusetts legislature may (if the millennium comes) next year pass a bill forbidding you to own your unsafe tenement. Property evidently is merely the limited right to use a thing under such further limitations as society may from time to time choose to lay down.

But it is further evident that what-

ever the Massachusetts legislature is the wisdom of saying about the matter there are inherent differences in property which no decree can ever affect. A city street, for instance, is certainly property, the property of a definite, assignable number of individuals. Yet it cannot be used except when owned socially. If some reformer, in an ecstasy of individualistic zeal, were to divide Jones street into 300 equal portions and assign one to each of the 300 citizens of Jonesville for private, exclusive use, Jones street would lose its whole value as a street. Similarly, if a municipal electric lighting plant were equally divided among the owning citizens, a wheel being allotted to Smith and a battery to Brown, the plant would lose its whole value as a lighting plant. On the other hand a suit of clothes cannot be passed around from neighbor to neighbor without losing a great part of its value as wearing apparel. Also, Mrs. Jenkins' Turkish rug, if passed on next week to Mrs. Tompkins, would light furiously with Mrs. Tompkins' lavender window curtains. There is, in the nature of the case, that property which can attain its full usefulness only when owned socially and used extensively, and that property which can attain its full usefulness only when owned privately and used intensively. As society becomes more and more developed and increases the quantity of things owned by its members individually and to do this it finds itself obliged to limit the kinds of things owned by its members individually. Thus Europe was obliged to abolish the feudal ownership of land. And thus America has recently been obliged to abolish chattel slavery. And similarly England was obliged to abolish ultimate personal liability for debt. At every stage of society the limitations of property have been made to conform to the needs of the time. Within the last century and a half a new problem has arisen, known to us in its most familiar phrase as the "trust question." This, as is now universally recognized, is not the chance domination of a few men, but the predetermined domination of a certain form of property.

It is only within the last 150 years that the great industrial processes have become organized with complex machinery and extensive division of labor. The shoemaker who made a shoe from beginning to end without calling in a single other individual has been replaced by the gigantic shoe trust under which 100 men and women, at least, contribute to the manufacture of each individual shoe made. Now it is obviously just as impossible to divide a shoe factory among the various pedestrians using it. The same applies to the railroads, the oil refineries, the slaughter houses, and to practically all the great producers and distributors of the necessities of life. There is obviously no inherent difference between a shoe factory and an electric lighting plant, any more than there is between the postal system and the express system. Both are essentially social property and may be owned by society at large instead of by private individuals. The whole economic history of the past 50 years has been toward more public ownership of this social machinery. Whether public ownership is preferable to private ownership will be the subject of a future Harvard tract. The point at issue here is the intention of the Social-

ists, express or implied, in regard to property in general.

The Socialist Distinction.

Now the Socialist philosophy has from the first made this distinction between property which is in its nature public and that which is in its nature private. It has consistently proposed public ownership for the one, and private ownership for the other. In all the Socialist literature of the militant Marxian line the demand was for the abolition of private property in the means of production (or in its technical patois, "bourgeois property"). In 1848 a clear statement of this principle appeared in the Communist Manifesto, the document which is universally accepted as the authoritative beginning of modern scientific Socialism. The difference between this and the vague utopian "Socialism" of the first half of the century was clear and absolute. Scientific Socialism was grounded in an evolutionary view of society, whereas former views had been almost or completely static; it recognized clearly that some property can be directly consumed, and other property can be used to exploit labor in the production of more wealth for the owners. The Manifesto, one of the most militant of all Socialist documents, demanded that this latter type of property be owned by society as a whole, and every Socialist since has demanded precisely the same thing. Individual Socialists differ on almost every other point of the program, as has been stated, but on this fundamental point they agree. Socialism is that socialism which demands the private ownership of private property; this is the only sense in which the word Socialism now has a meaning.

"We Communists [Socialists]," says the Manifesto, "have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the ground-work of all personal freedom and independence." This it specifically denies. "You reproach us," it says on the other hand, "with intending to do away with the form of property (private ownership in the means of production), the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society. Precisely so; that is just what we intend."

Schaeffle, a powerful opponent of Socialism, makes this statement: "The object sought for in Socialism is an extension of the principle of collective property, which is already widely operative, to the means of production through the division of labor, that is to social capital; only to the extent of this enlargement of collective property is there to be a contraction of private property. . . . The total suppression of private property is not a consequence of the principle of 'Socialism' in the present day. The negation applies only to private property in the means of production, which is to be replaced by collective ownership (plants of land, factories, machines, etc.). Collective property would be introduced only in relation to capital, or the means of production which is now already carried on by division of labor, just as there is now state and communal ownership with regard to streets, education, justice, police and national defense."

Crafty Intentions.

All this is plain enough, even in the somewhat involved technical language

various legislatures--many Socialists are indifferent about parliaments; many hundreds of thousands of them scattered here and there in all countries have been unable to obtain legislative representation."

And Still the Preachers Come

The really good preachers are continuing to move forward. Rev. Paul Harris Drake, minister of the Unitarian church at Saco, Me., has joined the Socialist party and is doing good work for the cause. A. S. Reynolds, Hiedley, Tex., is another minister who has just been converted to Socialism. He writes: "I was kept from investigating Socialism by those who said it was opposed to Christianity. . . . I have come to believe that Christianity would flourish under Socialism as it has under the present system. Only the bad preachers keep hanging back."

Rev. Walter M. Loomis, pastor of the Central M. E. church of Long Beach, Cal., preached a strong sermon in reply to President Taft's recent statement that "Socialism is the next great problem the nation has to solve."

Printers' Ink is Our Chiefest Weapon!

Capitalism justly values the power of the press. If it can control the reading matter of the people it feels that its rule is comparatively sure. In Milwaukee the past two years nine daily papers owned by big business poured out daily poison and misrepresentation against the Social-Democratic administration. It set those papers up like a stone wall between the administration and the people, and the people were practically forced to get their estimate of the administration's work from what the dailies chose to present to them. We started the Socialist daily, The Milwaukee Leader, sooner than we were really ready to start it because of the necessity this situation presented, feeling confident that the comrades the nation over, who are fighting with us, would stand by us to the very line. We

have passed through the election with a loss of the city offices, but an increased vote. This increased vote shows the solidity of our movement, shows the firmness of our hold on the reading public through our daily. Its circulation is on the increase daily, the press run, the day before these lines are written, April 5, being 44,934, while the advertising patronage reached nearly to 1,100 incomes, high water mark thus far! The success of the paper is one of the historic events of Milwaukee. And yet the paper started with none too much ready money and needs more to enable it to install the added equipment that its growing business demands. We put forward the remainder of its bonds, the number that should have been closed out before the paper started, confident that our readers will nowhere find a safe investment for any amounts they may have

for their daily bread. It would entirely do away with such unearned incomes as that of the Astor estate, which increased in value many times over inside of fifty years, unencumbered by a stroke of work on the part of the owners. Besides abolishing the flagrant abuses of our property system it would abolish the small incomes which represent the savings and investments of the opponents of Socialism that this would decrease the incentive of individuals.

Let us analyze the benefits of private property in the means of production and see what they come to. Take, for instance, railroad stocks paying six per cent. This six per cent is received by a person who is doing no productive work on the railroad. Under collective ownership a six per cent profit would go back to society, either in the shape of increased wages, lowered rates, or public works of some sort. Generally speaking, it would go back to society in wages or lower rates--that is, in consumptive form. The stockowner may use his income either as consumptive property or as new capital. If he spends his six per cent in food and clothes, then it comes to the same thing as under public ownership, except that in the one case the property is earned and in the other unearned. In this case the amount of unearned private property, in our definition of it, is not altered, whether the property in production (the capital) is owned individually or socially. It is the distribution that is affected. And the private property becomes more nearly equally distributed, not because equality of earnings is an ideal in itself, but because a distribution according to service rendered is bound to be more nearly equal than at present.

Will this form of distribution conduce to more or less incentive than the other? It will increase the incomes of the poor and lessen those of the wealthy and moderately wealthy. The sons of the wealthy will be thrown to a greater extent on their own resources. More than before they must work if they want their place in the world. This will hardly lessen their incentive. The fathers, too, instead of regarding their sons' education and advancement as things assuredly would have to make an effort to provide them. This might or might not be fair to the fathers, but it would certainly not diminish their incentive. The same would be true, only in greater degree, of the middle class. Abolishing their modest stock coupons might be a hardship to them (to neglect for the moment the counterbalancing hardships of the submerged three-fourths), but if their incomes were dependent on their labor month by month, and upon that alone, surely their incentive to labor would not be lessened. As for the great unpropertied class, the psychological effect would be most interesting. Aside from the immediate benefits--better food, better housing, better education, which might be considered a good foundation for ambition in the underfed and weak--there would be the inspiration of feeling that reward was in some rough, imperfect way, proportioned to the amount and usefulness of the labor. At present the laborer knows as well as any old-fashioned economist that wages represent just what the laborer can force the employer to give, and no more. His labor is merely a first requisite to qualify him for the one activity on which his income really depends--namely, haggling with his employer. What a difference in quality if he felt that his labor was actually the producing power! But there are some who harbor the notion that it is not well to give even a moderate measure to the poor--that most men will not have ordinary human incentive unless pinched by poverty. This contradicts that first principle of human nature, that however much a man has, he wants more. Give a man with little the possibility of a little more, and there can be only one result--if he is healthy, well fed, and well clothed, and underfed . . . But we all know that sickness and undernourishment sap more energy and initiative in a month than they can give in a year.

The philosophical tendency of Socialism, as we have seen, is toward abolishing private property to a certain extent. But since it has started in that direction why may it not keep on going? The obvious answer is that the millions of people who have come into the movement on the express condition that they are to retain their private property will by no means let themselves be done out of it when they begin to attain their object--which is getting more of it.

But there is this much truth in the criticism: Socialism does want to limit private property. And if a complete abolition of private property would completely abolish incentive, a partial abolition might partially abolish it. If this be true--one might also suppose that since completely starving a gourmand will kill him, the limiting of his food will partially kill him. Still it is well worth while to inquire what would be the results of this limitation of private property in the means of production.

Some Incentives Socialism Would Destroy.

It would certainly do away with the private ownership of stocks and bonds, with absentee landlordism, with stock gambling, with speculation in land values, and in general with the private ownership of most of the great industries upon which men are dependent

Rev. Loomis reviewed the economic changes that are forcing Socialism to the front as a great political problem. "The attitude toward Socialism has changed so rapidly in the last few years that people who have not kept pace will have to get on the caboose if they get on at all," he concluded. "The worst and most accurate brought against Socialism today is that it won't work. That's what they said about the steam engine, the steam boat, the telegraph and the flying machine."

Rev. Dr. Alfred W. Arundel, the famous rector of Trinity Episcopal church, Pittsburgh's most fashionable congregation of that faith and one of the richest congregations in Pennsylvania, announced himself as a Christian Socialist, sent in his resignation and preached a farewell sermon that fairly bristled with the kind of language that Christ and the prophets of old used against the pharisees and hypocrites of their day. "It is time," said he, "that the minister of the gospel came out and declared himself for the workingman."--Cleveland Citizen.

What makes life dreary is want of motive.--George Eliot.

support. Yet when an Anglo-Saxon law prohibits a man from having more than one wife his competitive effort is directed into other equally attractive channels. Just so men struggle to amass and own privately social capital because it is one of the indices of prestige and position, in short, of overness. Take away from them, by law and social consent, the rewards of this particular type of activity, and they will inevitably turn to those which are left, such as the rewards offered to efficiency of service, intellectual or artistic distinction, organizing ability, and the rest. Abolish this or that particular form of social scalp-lock, and still you have the whole hierarchy of rewards on a basis of service rendered, better salaries for better service, more comfort for finer ability, more honor for higher talents.

A Question of Civilization.

Again, let it be repeated, Socialism's first and chief purpose is to increase private property. It aims not at the abolition of private property, but at the abolition of the private ownership of public property. In one sense it aims to limit private property, as society has always done. In earlier times the land and all the human beings in it were the absolute private property of the king. This private property was abolished. Roman sons were the private property of their fathers, for life or for death. This private property was abolished. Hindoo widows were the property of their husbands and to be burned when their husbands died. This private property was abolished. Medieval feudal services were the property of the feudal lords. This private property was abolished. In America black men belonged to white. This private property was abolished. And now the private ownership of social capital makes the great mass of men the economic slaves of the capitalist. And this private property must be abolished. In this sense Socialism does intend to limit private property. And in this sense the limitation of the property has been the advance of civilization.

H. K. M.



BOSTON, Mass., April 5.—Teddling babies, hardly able to walk, are forced to work to aid their parents in earning bread, according to Rabbi Levi, of Temple Israel. There is no age limit for child labor in Maine or New York, he declared and cited statistics to prove his contention. The rabbi told the National Clothing Association and the owners of department stores here today that unless they take action to see that anti-child labor laws are enforced, the effect on the future of the nation will be most disastrous.

"In one scattered canvas in New York," he said, "which took in only 558 children, were found four working who were only three years old; 20 who were four; 41 who were seven; 45 who were nine, and 76 who were ten. In Maine hundreds of children as young as five years are employed in the canning industry 12 to 15 hours daily. In the candy factories in New York there are 175,000 children under 12 working."

LISTEN! READ THIS!

The Milwaukee 1912 Socialist Campaign book should be in every active Socialist library. In fact, no person, Socialist or non-Socialist, who is interested in municipal affairs can afford to be without this book for ready reference.

It is a 224 page book, chock full of facts and illustrations showing what the Milwaukee administration did and planned during the two years it was in control of the city.

Besides the information about Milwaukee, this book contains a vast quantity of digested information about the growth and present status of the Socialist movement of the world. It is a splendid index so that any subject on which information is desired may be found without trouble. Send 25 cents to The Social-Democratic Publishing company, and the Milwaukee 1912 Socialist Campaign book will be mailed to you at once, postpaid.

ONLY \$2.325 OF STOCK STILL TO BE HAD!

Brisbane Hall has proved a good investment from the day it was opened for tenants. Every available room is now occupied by first-class tenants. The typesetting machines and the equipment of the editorial rooms for The Milwaukee Leader are now installed on the fourth floor, which was reserved for that purpose.

Brisbane Hall is one of the finest buildings in Milwaukee, and every Socialist and union man and woman in Milwaukee is proud of it. It is a veritable beehive of labor union and Social-Democratic activity, a monument in solid concrete to the movement that has now come into commanding position.

The building was erected by the political and industrial labor movement, that is, by the workers in those movements, by means of a realty company. Shares of stock were issued up to \$40,000, and these were so readily taken that today we can announce that almost the entire issue has been sold. As a matter of fact, there are only two thousand, three hundred and twenty-five dollars' worth still unsold--a remarkable fact. When the company was incorporated the shares were issued at \$25 each. A share makes as fine and steady an investment as anyone could ask for. And there's

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By investing in the People's Realty Company stock you accomplish two things: You make a good investment and at the same time you use your money where it will be doing splendid service for the cause of Socialism and the toilers. Do it NOW!

The Masses

The Masses, the Socialist magazine, owned, written, illustrated and published by a club of well known writers and artists, is rapidly taking its place as the national organ for the political wing of the Socialist party. Its articles are all well written, sane and convincing. \$1 a year. Send for sample copy and note the attractive premium offers. Agents can make good money by soliciting subscriptions or by street sales. Large discounts for both.

150 Nassau Street New York

For Sale

Comrade has \$2300 stock in the People's Realty Co. which he wants to sell because money is required to develop business. See Mr.

H. W. Bistorius
Brisbane Hall

STATE OF WISCONSIN, MILWAUKEE COUNTY, CIRCUIT COURT.
John Schindl, plaintiff, vs. A. A. Schindl, defendant.
THE STATE OF WISCONSIN to the said defendant: You are hereby summoned to appear within twenty (20) days after service of this summons, to defend the above entitled action in the Court aforesaid, and in case of your failure to do so, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demand of the complaint of which a copy is herewith served upon you.

WIDOLE & MENNING,
P. O. Address, Room 3, Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.
Note--The original summons and complaint in the above entitled action are on file in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court for Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.

WIDOLE & MENNING,
Plaintiff's attorneys.

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The building was erected by the political and industrial labor movement, that is, by the workers in those movements, by means of a realty company. Shares of stock were issued up to \$40,000, and these were so readily taken that today we can announce that almost the entire issue has been sold. As a matter of fact, there are only two thousand, three hundred and twenty-five dollars' worth still unsold--a remarkable fact. When the company was incorporated the shares were issued at \$25 each. A share makes as fine and steady an investment as anyone could ask for. And there's

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SUBSCRIPTION FOR BONDS

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
\$100,000 in Denominations of \$10.00 and \$100 Each.

I, the undersigned, do hereby agree to subscribe and pay for the amount of bonds specified, said bonds being issued by the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company, to the Citizens' Trust Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as trustee, the total of said bonds being the sum of one hundred thousand (\$100,000) dollars; bearing interest at the rate of four (4) per cent per annum, payable semi-annually.

The bonds were issued and bear interest from December 1, 1911, and are secured by a first mortgage on the goods, property and chattels of said company, which are particularly described in the mortgage.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this..... day of.....

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Bonds may be paid in full, or they may be paid in monthly installments of \$2.50 for each bond subscribed for.

ALARMED AT THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM

Roma--That Socialism is fast becoming a serious rival of the Catholic church is the admission practically made by the Vatican itself.

The rapid spread of Socialism during the past four years has forced the church to consider methods for preventing Socialism from encroaching on its own field of influence.

"The situation has really become so serious that it has found its way into the Catholic papers of Italy, and 'Roma,' a semi-official paper of the Vatican, today goes into the subject



Milwaukee Plume Sheet Not Jubilant.

From Editorial in Milwaukee Free Press After Election.

The anti-Socialists of Milwaukee, in their justified jubilation over the non-partisan victory, should bear in mind these figures and their meaning: In 1906, out of a total registration of 76,650, the Republicans and Democrats together polled 44,182 votes, the Social-Democrats 16,837. In 1908, out of a registration of 83,633, the two old parties polled 41,517 votes, the Social-Democrats 20,887. In 1910, out of registration of 86,207, the two parties polled 31,876 votes, the Social-Democrats 27,608. In 1912 out of a registration of 90,592, the non-partisan combination of the two old parties polled 43,064, the Social-Democrats 30,200. What do these figures mean? They mean that within the past six years, in spite of an increase of nearly 14,000 in registration, the combined vote of the Republicans and Democrats of Milwaukee has fallen off over 1,000 votes, while the Social-Democratic vote has increased by nearly 13,500. They mean that while the Socialist vote has increased by big leaps at each election it required the herculean effort of a non-partisan, anti-Socialist campaign to bring the combined Republican and Democratic vote within hailing distance of what it was six years ago. The vote of two years ago was abnormally low for the old parties and abnormally high for the Social-Democrats. The gain of over 2,500 votes by the latter in this election, in which they were handicapped by an unsuccessful administration and a united and aroused opposition, is quite as significant as the restoration of over 11,000 votes to the non-partisan column under the circumstances. We dwell upon these figures at this time, because we believe that their significance should be borne in mind from the very outset by the new administration. That significance is that Socialism, so far from being hurled in Milwaukee by this election, is very much alive and kicking, and that it can only be rendered moribund by the achievement of the Bading administration.

Fighting Loan Sharks.

The campaign for the elimination of the loan sharks in Milwaukee, who make it a business to prey on the poor in distress, was continued Tuesday morning by District Attorney Winifred C. Zabel, who issued a warrant for the arrest of Lawrence A. Wagner, alleged to have made a railroad employee pay \$35 interest on a \$50 loan. At noon Wagner was arrested and taken to the county jail. "The war against loan sharks will be kept up until the evil has been wiped out," said District Attorney Zabel, this morning. "I can conceive of nothing more despicable than the avenues resorted to by loan sharks who thirst for blood money, and who do not rest until they have sapped every penny out of their victims."

Fight Brings Results.

"This fight we have conducted for the last five or six months has brought satisfactory results. We have succeeded in putting many usurers out of business, but, unfortunately, there are still a number who persist in preying on the community. "But I promise the poor victims of these heartless profit seekers that I am ready to do the utmost in their protection. I am ready to investigate any case that any man or woman may happen to call to my attention."

Lawrence Murphy, the loan agent who was convicted of usury because he had collected from and held notes

against a poor man who had borrowed \$50 and that aggregated over \$400. It is to be a free man tomorrow, after serving a sentence of 90 days in the house of correction.

This was the first prison sentence for usury and was the result entirely from the efforts of the present district attorney.

"Ordinarily, crimes are committed on the impulse, but usury is a crime in a cold, calculated way, entirely for gain, and worst of all, the victims are always wage earners. People in poor circumstances cannot afford to fight. All nations have or should have rigid laws against usury. In times past, usury was punishable by death," said the district attorney.

Prison Only Punishment.

"Imprisonment is the only punishment for those gentlemen of soft hands and hard hearts," said Judge Backus, when pronouncing sentence on Murphy. One usury case will go to the supreme court, A. Fahringer appealing the decision of the court, claiming the state law against usury to be unconstitutional. Four weeks ago the state supreme court passed favorably on the constitutionality of the anti-usury law.

Milwaukee Notes

Honestealing is the order of the day in the meetings of the committees of the common council this week. The document boxes are being cleaned out,

and matters which have been laid over from time to time will be indefinitely postponed as a rule.

In the case of important matters which cannot be closed up, such as the payment of the balance due the sewage commission, the official documents will be placed in the records so that they will be a permanent part of the council history, and available for future use.

Final action on a number of matters expected to be taken. Among these is the establishing of the dock line for the new river walk between Wisconsin and Mason streets.

Administrative officers whose terms expire with the administration are also gathering together the loose ends of matters pending, so as to leave things in definite form for their successors.

City Attorney Dan W. Hoan has advised Commissioner Harry E. Briggs that according to the terms of the charter provision, the term of the present commissioner of public works, as well as all others appointed in the future, terminates 60 days after the third Tuesday in April. Although his successor may be appointed on the third Tuesday in April, he cannot qualify until 60 days thereafter. This means that the present commissioner will hold office until the third Tuesday of June, 1912, together with his associates.

With the return of the Rose type to the city hall, property in the city's restricted district has gone up in value and increased in demand, according to real estate dealers.

"That sort of property has been a drug on the market," said one dealer today, "but immediately after election the demand for it began. As much as \$1,000 per front foot is being asked for this property that a week ago was in almost no demand."

Those seeking property in the vice district appear to understand that there will be no hampering restrictions. When asked for an opinion regarding the probability of a return to the "wide open" Rose plan of city government, the Rev. Knoch Perry, one of the committee of 27, sponsors for the new administration, replied: "I don't know anything about it."

Wisconsin

MADISON, Wis., April 8.—Letters addressed to Dr. Charles McCarthy of the state reference library, indicating that a non-partisan bill may be introduced at the special session of the legislature by the Milwaukee delegation, has created much speculation about the capital as to whether it will be possible to bring in such a bill under the provisions of the call issued by Governor McGovern.

There is a wide difference of opinion on this subject. Those who are anxious

to keep the session as short as possible are hoping that such a measure will not be brought in because it is generally realized that it will stir up a hot fight and prolong the session.

Milwaukeeans interested in a re-summation of the non-partisan fight when the legislature convenes contend that it will be possible to introduce a non-partisan bill as an amendment to the election laws of the state. Part of the governor's call opens the way for amendments to the primary election and the general election laws of the state.

MANITOWOC, Wis., April 4.—The campaign just closed has been one of the most effective in which local Social-Democrats have yet engaged. This was the first campaign in which Socialism was the only prominent issue, and 7,340 pieces of literature were distributed. Every gain made this spring was against the combined opposition of the old parties. Manitowoc Social-Democrats have been fighting the combination old party for four years, having driven them together in the election five years ago.

A. F. Kowalski, Milwaukee, gave two lectures in Pulaski at Budy's hall Sunday. The lectures were attended by large crowds and much enthusiasm for Socialism was aroused by the exposition of the principles of the party, given in the Polish language. The lecture was given in the Seventh ward which already had one Socialist alderman in the city council.

Elections

BRANTWOOD, Wis., April 5.—At the election here the Social-Democrats made a clean sweep—electing every one of their candidates with large majorities. Out of 147 votes cast the Socialists received 101. La Follette received 29 and Taft 2. The Socialists have been in power here for three years but this is the first time all the town officials are members of the party. The following are the officers elected. The chairman is member of the county board:

Chairman, H. J. Sandquist; supervisors, John Keshner, John Keshner, treasurer, Vale Kola; assessor, Alex Kaski; constables, Albert Graff and Alex Westerland.

GREEN BAY, Wis., April 5.—As the result of Tuesday's election, Dr. Oliver becomes the first Social-Democratic alderman to hold a seat in the Green Bay city council. He won out over his principal opponent by a majority of 34 votes and will represent the Eighth ward. The doctor is an able man and will no doubt display a creditable record in the official duties to which he has attained.

Charles H. Robinson, Social-Democratic candidate for mayor, received 934 votes, while the present mayor received for re-election 2,810 votes, winning by a plurality of 1,876.

MARINETTE, Wis., April 5.—The Marinette city council now has one Socialist member, E. Peterson, of the First ward, being elected in the spring election. He did not run as a Socialist, as the city elections here are all non-partisan. Capt. James Larson of the First ward, also a Socialist, was re-elected to the county board of supervisors.

EAU CLAIRE, Wis., April 3.—This city has chosen a Socialist, W. H. Barnes to head the city government under the commission form, by a majority of 288 votes. The commission form of government was first enacted into law at the direct request of certain interests of Eau Claire, and in a form acceptable to them. It was changed at the last session of the legislature by the request of citizens here, but it was supposed, that this form of city government would forever shut out the Socialists. Comrade Barnes is an old union man, who stands very high in the community at large, and has been active in the Socialist movement for years.

ELROY, Wis., April 3.—In the non-partisan election here yesterday, the Social-Democrats elected C. F. Warden and Chas. A. Johnson, aldermen, and E. E. Brintnall and E. E. Ericson, justices of the peace.

The Social Democrats also sprung a surprise on the old party members by writing in enough votes to elect Harry Hoehner, Socialist, to fill the vacancy in the city council caused by the death of Herman Birkhills, the Socialists alderman elected last spring.

SUPERIOR, Wis., April 6.—In the election for Douglas county supervisors, W. H. Jackson, a Social-Democrat, at Bennett, defeated S. P. Carlson, who has been a member of the county board for the past two years. The Social-Democrats throughout

The Growth of Socialism

[Father T. J. Shealy, in address before the Catholic club of New York City.]

We are face to face with a new situation unlike anything in our history, a situation arising out of an acute sense of contradiction between economic development and civil liberty and equality, and expressed in the doctrine and schemes both reconstructive and revolutionary. The cause of this change is not far to seek.

Many of the conditions which prevail in Europe are being fast transferred to our own land. The pauperization of labor is in evidence. Wealth has become more concentrated and more selfish. There is a cut-throat economy of supply and demand, of unbridled competition, which is threatening human life. There is an oligarchy of capital behind the wheels of industry and almost beyond the power of law which would bargain with labor as a commodity and treat as chattel American free-born men. There is a muck-raking which maddens the nostrils of honest citizens, and there is a flaunted luxury which rankles in the breast of the struggling masses. In fine there

is a deep impassioned spirit of unrest abroad, for the worker is beginning to realize that even liberty and equality can lead to the anarchy of individualism, and when applied to industry can produce an appalling servitude.

This in turn has created a class-consciousness in labor, which rises above racial diversity and prejudice, so that however ineffective the efforts to socialize production and distribution have been, there is a growing socialization of thought and feeling. In a word, we have today a Socialism that is truly racy of the soil, with brain and sinew, with heart and spirit that is American. A Socialism that has definiteness in its aim, system in its method, zeal in its propaganda and which has, moreover, not only the mind and the strategic insight of experienced leadership, and many are its distinct and vehement utterances on the platform and in the press, on the curbstone and in the halls of legislation. It has invaded the office and the workshop, and has already divided the school and the college. There is no place beyond its reach, no task beyond its striving, for its sacrifice is commensurate with its ambition.

Socialists Break Record

If 40,000 citizens of Milwaukee were voiceless Monday it was no surprising coincidence, for fully that many cheered themselves hoarse last night at the Social-Democratic rally which filled every one of the six halls in the Auditorium, jammed the basement and overflowed to the Freie Gemeinde hall on Fourth street, which was hastily secured for the emergency. But although voiceless temporarily, each of the 40,000 is still able to cast his ballot tomorrow and if the enthusiasm shown at last night's meeting is a criterion every one of these ballots will be cast for the Social-Democratic ticket.

"Enthusiasm was the keynote, the sum and substance of the entire meeting, and never in the history of the city, even out the county are delighted at the news of his election and feel that he is well qualified to represent the party. He is a former school teacher, well educated, an excellent speaker, and has unlimited energy and courage."

EAU CLAIRE, Wis., April 6.—W. H. Barnes, the Socialist candidate who was elected over John C. Fennessy for councilman in last Tuesday's election, took the oath of office Thursday afternoon, his opponent at the polls, City Clerk Fennessy, officiating. Barnes begins his duties on April 16, when Councilman John Huebsch retires.

PLAINFIELD, Wis., April 6.—H. L. Kellogg, a Socialist, who made the run for town chairman as an independent ticket, defeated Ed. Nichols, by 17 votes at the village of Hancock.

Elections

CANTON, Ill., April 6.—The official count gave the Socialists a total of 1,290 votes in the township election, which carried four reds into office. This was a plurality of 200 over the Republican ticket, which ran second.

Those elected are: Assessor, D. W. James; collector, W. H. Spafford; highway commissioner, David Dixon; school board, W. F. Brown.

The Socialists are continuing their campaign for the city election, which takes place April 16, when another big sweep is expected. John C. Kennedy, Socialist candidate for governor, will speak here next Sunday.

Fort Scott, Kan., April 6.—

With the Democrats and Republicans united against them on a fusion ticket, the Socialists secured control of the city council here with the election of three out of five aldermen. With two hold-overs this will give the Socialists five aldermen and a majority.

Five Sheppard, Socialist, candidate for city attorney, polled 1,400 votes, coming within 78 votes of being elected.

Kalamazoo, Mich., April 6.—

The final vote in the municipal election in this city shows that the Socialists carried for mayor, W. T. Curry, came within 156 votes of being elected out of a total of more than 6,000 votes cast.

WORKMEN

Inure yourselves in the Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

Organized October 10, 1884, by German Socialist Exiles. 278 Branches in 25 States, 46,000 beneficiary members. Assets over \$437,000.00. Claims paid since organization: Sick and Accident \$3,395,708.00; Death, \$1,145,790.00. Jurisdiction: The United States of America; age limit, from 15 to 45 years. Benefits: Sick and Accident, first-class \$0.00 and \$4.50; second class, \$6.00 and \$3.00, not exceeding 80 weeks for whole life. Death: \$250.00 uniformly. No sick benefit for third class (women).

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For particulars write to Main Office:

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund 1 and 3 Third Avenue—Room 2, New York, N. Y.

As for Milwaukee, Wis., communicate with E. Emmanegger, 262 Fourth Street.

The Truth About Milwaukee

Told in a nutshell every week by P.O. List and the Milwaukee Social-Democratic newspaper. It has already achieved stupendous success and should be read by every citizen. You can't afford to be without it.

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VOLUME 1 MILWAUKEE, APRIL 13, 1912 NUMBER 8

Stories of Animals

Once I read about a bird—a swallow I think—which got its foot caught in a string hanging on the cornice, or eaves, of a high building. The bird fluttered and fluttered, trying to free itself, until it was about exhausted. It was suspended by the cord with its head toward the ground. Responding to its plaintive cry, quite a lot of birds came and flew about making a great chattering. Finally, the spectators noticed, they began flying in a circle passing the suspended bird. As they did this they struck the string with one wing giving it a sort of scraping. In this way, before long, the string was severed and flew away with the others, all making joyful twitterings. These birds were evidently Socialists, for they carried out one of the mottoes of Socialism, viz: "An injury to one is the concern of all." If these swallows had been "individualists," and believed in the system of "Competition," they would have selfishly gone away and left their poor companion to die. The human exploiters of their fellow men, and the capitalists who work children like slaves, have less kindness in their hearts than the birds mentioned.

A gentleman told me that a few years ago, near Elwood, Indiana, a mother pigeon was noticed for several days, flying violently against the side of a wooden building. A man investigated the matter and found that each time the bird flew against the house, she chipped off an animal or fowl as large as a young pig. Only human beings make work-slaves of their children. Millions of tender boys and girls are wage-slaves in nurseries and shops, where they are overworked, starved, often crippled, and where their health is soon so utterly shattered that few of them ever grow up as adults.

What a fine exhibition of love and devotion this was! Many human beings do not manifest a greater measure of love. It has been said that an animal or fowl is cruel to its young. Only human beings make work-slaves of their children. Millions of tender boys and girls are wage-slaves in nurseries and shops, where they are overworked, starved, often crippled, and where their health is soon so utterly shattered that few of them ever grow up as adults.

(See Next Page)

Why Socialism Must Conquer. Its Principles

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Every man, woman and child has the right to these necessities. The capitalist class, in its mad race for profit, is bound to exploit the workers to the limit of their physical, mental and moral powers. The capitalist class, in its mad race for profit, is bound to exploit the workers to the limit of their physical, mental and moral powers. The capitalist class, in its mad race for profit, is bound to exploit the workers to the limit of their physical, mental and moral powers.

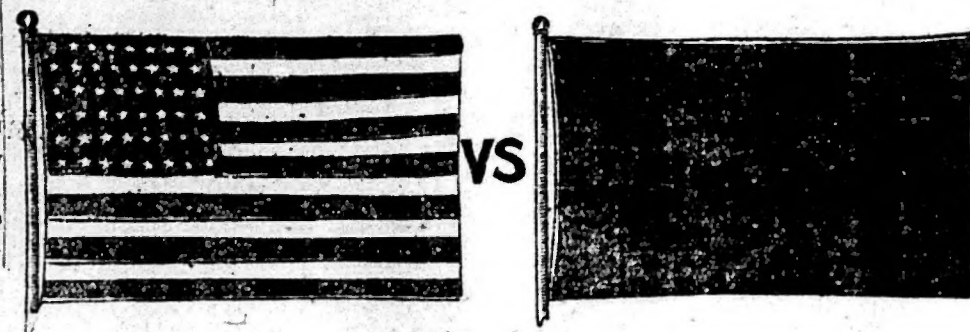
Every Saturday

The Flag Scare That Was Worked in Milwaukee Campaign

MORNING, APRIL 2, 1912

Today! The Polls Open at 6 A. M. Every Patriotic Milwaukee

THE ISSUE!



SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

Published by the

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FREDERIC HEATH VICTOR L. BERGER
Editor Associate

The Herald is Not Responsible for Opinions of its Contributors

Entered at the Milwaukee Postoffice as Second-Class Matter, August 20, 1901.

C. H. Kibbe, statistician for the Australian government, has just finished an exhaustive search for facts on the cost of living of the various countries of the world. His summary is now at hand and is favorable to Australia in a comparison with Germany, the United States and Australia. It is shown that in the average Australian household, when housing, fuel, food, lighting and clothing are provided for 40.82 per cent of the family income is available for other expenditures as against 36.6 per cent in Germany and 25.41 per cent in the United States. This margin is designated as "the margin of comfort."

Alexander Irvine, Job Harriman and Morris Hillquit, prominent Socialists and member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party, were on the Twentieth Century Limited that was wrecked near Poughkeepsie, New York, recently, according to word received in Milwaukee.

"SOCIALISM STILL GROWING."

Catholic Citizen, Milwaukee.—The Socialists were ousted from office in Milwaukee on Tuesday, by a non-partisan movement which captured the administration by 12,000 majority, in a total vote of 74,000. But the Socialist vote reached 30,000, an increase of nearly 3,000 over its

Reprinted in Reduced Facsimile from First Page of Milwaukee Sentinel (ultra-capitalist) in Its Last Issue Before the Voting Began. The Capitalist Papers Incessantly Insisted that the Battle Was a Clear Cut One Between Socialism and "Americanism." On That Issue Our Vote Rose to 30,000!

(after the plan popular on the Pacific coast).

(Continued from 1st page.)

Milwaukee Election

that I am going to stay right here in Milwaukee. I am going to redouble my efforts for the benefit of the Social-Democracy. I had intended to take a month's vacation after this election, but I have already called it off and I am going to plunge into the full campaign with all the energy that I can summon.

"I am going to help the comrades elect two congressmen this fall. I am going to help them pile up the biggest vote for the Social-Democratic candidate for president this fall that we have ever seen."

Oh, Those Dogs!

"You see, I won't have to issue dog licenses any more, and I am going to set all of the 13,000 dogs in Milwaukee onto the non-partisans, and I am going to bark long and loud myself."

"I am going to give every moment of my time, every ounce of my energy and all the capacity of my being to build up the Social-Democratic movement here in Milwaukee county, and let the Leader a circulation of 70,000, to start a German daily paper, to cover the state and the nation with the mightiest and most effective propaganda that this party has ever attempted."

"I positively and emphatically refuse to be whipped out."

City Treasurer Whitnall was as explicit as a summer day, just as Joe Carney was not tearing his way and frantically waving the American flag.

"I haven't made any plans," he said. "The mere gaining or losing of office never appealed to me very much. Of course, when we get in a campaign, we get so that we want to win, but that, after all, is the small part of it. The work of education will go on, that is the important thing." And then Mr. Whitnall proceeded to talk about city planning.

City Controller Dietz and Commissioner Harry E. Briggs made similar replies, each with a quiet smile. Both will stay in Milwaukee, and both will be strictly on the job at something or other.

Workers Used to It.

"We workmen are used to losing our jobs," said Alderman John Reisse. "I'm a painter, you know, and I'll go back to the job. I guess I won't lose any money by it, with painters getting \$1 a day."

Alderman Welch, whose term does not expire for two years, already has the glint of battle in his eye.

"I'm going to keep mighty close to those fellows for the next two years," he said, "and they won't slip anything by if I know about it. If they're looking for trouble they'll find it."

There will be but two Socialists in the new county board, Frederic Heath from the Tenth district and George Monahan of the Seventh district. Many of the old faces will be gone when the board meets on April 15 to re-organize.

Chairman James Sheehan was not a candidate for re-election. Martin Mies was defeated by a close vote in the Twelfth district. F. W. Archibald, a leader of the Democrats on the board for years, was defeated for the nomination. Samuel R. Bell, one of the oldest members of the board, did not seek re-election. Harbich, Moerschel, Bonness, and Ruhnke also retire.

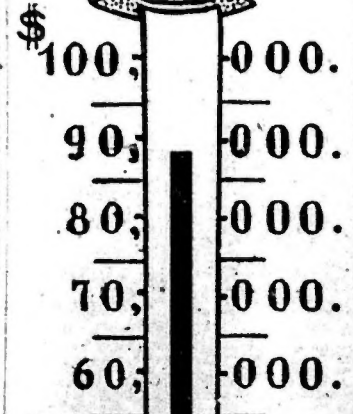
Either William McCarthy from the Third district, or C. C. Jacobus of the new Sixteenth district, will be elected chairman of the new board. It is believed that McCarthy will get the job because of experience on the board. Jacobus is said to have announced his preference for McCarthy.

John Saxer, another old member, was returned in the sweep yesterday. Former Supervisor Frank Olenczak succeeded in regaining his seat on the county board.

"Four big projects of interest to the city will go right forward, just as they would have gone forward had the

new county board been elected."

There will be no place to discuss the merits of industrial unionism. My argument is wholly upon the position taken by the Socialist party in its trade union resolutions, which is that no differences of opinion justify divisions in the industrial movement. Both the Socialist party and the trade unions have separated themselves from capitalist organizations, but they cannot separate themselves from the working class. "Those who say, 'We will have nothing to do with organizations that have not been organized on the clear-cut, class-conscious basis,' will practically take the position of saying, 'We will have nothing to do with humanity.' To ignore the unions does not commend itself to experienced men as a wise method of procedure." These are the words of Tom Mann. But such wisdom is not shared by the impossibilist who by tactics of division and dissension has done much to prevent both Socialism and industrial unionism from being discussed on their merits.



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The Builders' Column

By A. W. Mance

Now for the 1912 Campaign!

Milwaukee starts in the national and state campaign with over 30,000 class conscious and thoroughly class confident seasoned Socialist veterans.

It is now up to every reader of The Herald to get into action and educate as many friends and shopmates as possible as to what Socialism is and what it seeks to accomplish by the November election. Begin now.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE STILL HERE.
Always bear in mind that the class struggle is a fact that no amount of fusion of old party politicians "to beat the Socialists" can abolish. The class struggle will continue to be the great factor in social progress until capitalism itself is abolished. Old party fusions will simply intensify it. The last sham battle between the Republican Punch and Judy with the strings pulled by big business has been exhibited before the Milwaukee electors. In every battle of the future in this city the class lines will be clearly drawn and there is no question on which banner victory will finally perch.

PUSH SOCIALIST LITERATURE.
The cheapest and most effective way to push the Socialist propaganda is to boost the circulation of the Socialist papers.

THE HERALD DOES EFFECTIVE WORK.
Hundreds of communities where the Socialist movement has made most progress have used The Herald for educational and propaganda purposes.

ORDER A BUNDLE.
Remember you can get a bundle of Heralds each week or as many as you desire for one-half cent each.
Order a bundle at once to hand out where they will do the most good.

(SEE PAGE 3)

16 OUR YOUNG FOLKS

and dropped on his knee dead, and a moment later the larger one fell beside it.
"This is ghastly!" said the young men.
"I am worse than the pestilence to these leeches."
"It is the emphysematic oil in your blood," said the medical man. "All cigarette-smokers have it."

REGAL MAGIC!

The London Justice: "There is to be no more famine in India. King George and Queen Mary visited the vast poverty-stricken country as Emperor and Empress and charmed it all away. There will be no more plague in India. The same august personages held a great Durbar at Delhi, prayed to Almighty God to bless them and plague has vanished, never to return. There can be no further financial trouble in India. Two million pounds were spent on entertaining the pair of the Lord's anointed. Four million pounds at least are to be laid out on the new capital of Delhi and some 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 pounds more in a subsidiary capital for Bengal, at Decca. These payments out have, strange to say, filled the exchequer. The widow's curse of oil was a fool to the new Indian till. And poverty? Don't trouble yourself! There is no more poverty in British Hindustan. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, is quite sure of that. The whole 224,000,000 of our fellow subjects, from being bare-bone starvelings to the extent of 300,000,000 of them, have suddenly become quite well-to-do—all the lot. Unrest? What are you talking about? That has vanished with famine and plague and poverty and overtaxation and deficits. Everything is for the very best under the very best of all governments possible. The modern magicians, George and Mary, Mary and George, have made it so. Wonderful conjurers! Perhaps they can perform similar successful hocus-pocus in our slums at home!"

The Limit.

The Army and Navy club in Washington is an exclusive organization. The club house is nicely decorated. One picture is a rather crude pen-and-ink drawing. It depicts an officer seated before a deal table, standing in front of which is a private soldier at salute. Beneath the picture is the inscription: "Pat, I hear you have been drunk again."
"Yes, sir."
"Your conduct is disgraceful. Why can't you drink like officers and gentlemen?"
"Faith, sir, and if I did I'd be dead in a week."—New York World.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S PIPE.

The Indian pipe that Sir Walter Raleigh smoked up to the time of his execution has just been sold in London for nearly \$400. Two years ago \$1,000 was offered for the pipe and refused. Its value was reduced considerably by the loss of a parchment giving its history. The pipe is in four parts, the stem, bowl, blow cover and a piece into which both stem and bowl fit. It is a foot in length and weighs a pound. Faces of Indians, dogs and what appear to be monkeys are carved on it. Attached to the stem is a part of it is a whistle that gives a shrill call. The entire pipe is of wood.—The Argonaut.

Teacher—Correct this sentence. "I love cherries."
Pupil.—I love strawberries.

Puzzles



A PICTURE PUZZLE.

1. A bowling team. 2. A small stream. 3. A short stop. 4. To make whole. 5. To lessen. 6. A dancer. 7. A geographical name. 8. Undisguised. 9. A string of beads.
A Socialist book for the first correct answer on a postal.

The answer to the puzzle poem in last week's Herald was: A river. The first correct answer came from Rudolph Samson, Minneapolis, Minn., who will receive the paper-bound book as a prize.
A large number of answers were received to rebus No. 4, in Our Young Folks, of two weeks ago, the prize, a cloth-bound Socialist book, being won by Charles Lederman of Brooklyn, N. Y. Among the first correct answers received were those from L. H. Gibbs of Scranton, Pa., G. A. Burkholder, Elroy, Wis., Alfred Lippold of Chicago, and Mrs. O. G. Overfish of Muncie, Ind.